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hiko's marriage and he will expect to have been consulted so that he may consent to her marriage.

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Ceremonial friendship should be permanent, the Cubeo say. Whoever breaks it has become an enemy and his soul after death will be that of an insect and not of a human being. Marriage, of course, separates *hikü* and *hiko*, but they visit one another, as do brother and sister, bringing gifts, and they try to arrange the marriage of their children to one another. The *hikü* has the first claim upon his *hiko's* daughter as a bride for his son.

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Between members of the same sex, ceremonial friendship is also the equivalent of a blood sibling relationship except that they exchange gifts in a formal manner. Whereas a man has reason to suspect that his own brother might commit adultery with his wife, he believes that his *hikü* will never cuckold him. Still, when it comes to adultery even ceremonial friends sometimes succumb. Adultery or even flirting with a ceremonial friend's spouse is a principal cause for a break in this otherwise very stable relationship. A ceremonial friend who has been wronged by his partner retaliates by entering the offender's house to break or carry off everything belonging to him except the hammock. This act of vandalism declares the friendship broken. Eternal animosity succeeds it. Women are less inclined to seek a ceremonial friend among their own sex. When they do, they have acquired mainly a confidante. Since women are likely to be dispersed at marriage the pledge against adultery with one another's husband is of no great consequence.

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Ceremonial friends advise and assist one another. They feel that they actually have more freedom in their relationship with each other than they do with their own siblings. This may be correct, but I suspect that the Indians exaggerate the closeness of the relationship when talking about it. Ceremonial friends give up the use of their normal kinship designations in favor of the more intimate term.

Most ceremonial friendships are based upon simple reciprocity and so are modeled very closely, or I should say precisely, upon the sibling relationship. They satisfy in the main the longings of youths just before marriage and apparently fade with age. I was told that not everyone has a ceremonial friend but I could get no figures on its extent. Some ceremonial friendships model themselves after unequal kinship relationships, such as uncle-aunt or nephew-niece and grandparent-grandchild. These, I gathered, were not common and were rather aberrant forms of the true relationship. An older man takes a little girl as his *hiko* and is content with an unbal-

- 586 Divorce is easy and rather frequent during the early years of marriage. Most often it is the woman who leaves her husband, for the general reason that she does not like him and, more rarely, because he beats her. If a woman has no intention of going back to her husband she returns home, re-enters her parents' household, and her husband has no further claim upon her. If she is undecided, she claims the hospitality of a neighboring sib and awaits a reconciliation. A marriage is not officially severed, on the woman's part, unless she returns home. She cannot run away with another man and expect to avoid trouble. Men send wives away mainly because they are barren.
- [242] The Cubeo have no other official view of infertility than that the woman is using an abortifacient. They therefore tend to view barrenness as a hostile act. A wife who is asked to leave has no choice but to do so. Her grown children are expected to remain behind in their own sib, while the nursing baby accompanies the mother.

- 586 The most common source of marital discord that may also lead to divorce is adultery. From quarrels that erupt during drinking parties the impression is created that adultery is very common. Almost invariably it is the woman who is blamed, partly because women commonly are sexually aggressive, and partly because that is the least disruptive view to take of the matter; it does least damage to the important male solidarity of the sib.
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<i>Dyówa</i>	14	<i>Tatúyo</i>	3
<i>Uanana</i>	7	<i>Sriana</i>	1
<i>Miandwa</i>	5	<i>Bwébonwa</i>	1
<i>Hurúwá</i>	4	<i>Hurédariwa</i>	1
<i>Karówa</i>	4	<i>Karapana</i>	1
<i>Yuriti</i>	4	<i>Pirintápuyo</i>	1
<i>Dpurémawa</i>	3	<i>Tórinwá</i>	1
<i>Konéntaraboiwá</i>	3		

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Technical incest, that is, incest outside the nuclear household, does occur and is not necessarily regarded seriously. A man told me that his sib sister, having become a widow, returned home. An ardent woman, she made sexual advances to him. He then told the headman that his sib sister had seduced him. The headman scolded the woman and hastily arranged for her marriage to an elderly *Tatiyo*. In the case of close incest, that is, within the extended family, the offenders are driven out of the sib. I learned of no cases.

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Adultery is a common offense and is not very serious unless compounded by fears of sorcery. Only the man will be suspected of sorcery, never the woman. Since it is the women who are commonly regarded as the seducers and the men as innocent victims, the consequences of adultery are apt to be little more than a heated quarrel. An adulterous woman may receive a thrashing either from the husband or from her parents-in-law. In charges of adultery a headman, concerned first with harmony in the sib, seeks to placate feelings by emphasizing the culpability of the woman. The following example illustrates this. At a drinking party among the *Bahikiwa*, when intoxication was at its peak some hours before dawn, the headman suddenly began to berate a man of the sib for adultery, accusing him of having seduced the young wife of his (the headman's) son. The son himself did not enter into the controversy, but he explained quietly to those about him that his wife was too passionate. Whereupon the headman shifted his attention to the young woman and began to scold her for wearing love charms in her hair and for enticing men. Then, his anger rising, he slapped the girl sharply in the face. The accused sibman, now ignored, moved away unconcerned. The young wife, for her part, showed no distress at being slapped. A few minutes later she was as flirtatious as ever, this time with another man. The headman, still wrathful, delivered a lecture on the proprieties of married life, remarking that it is not fit for a wife to request coitus; she must wait for her husband. The next day a younger unmarried daughter of the headman was assigned to chaperon the errant wife, a task she accomplished with suitable diligence.

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The Cubeo regard a woman as unruly and are almost prepared to accept her adultery as inevitable. Nevertheless, an adulteress is reviled as "a woman without shame." A husband's chagrin and anger at his wife's adultery are softened somewhat by tales of *Kuwei*'s difficulties with adulterous wives. In one tale, however, *Kuwei* crushes his wife against a tree after she has copulated with a snake in her manioc garden.

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Certain indications, such as elaboration of potency magic within the ancestor cult, the frequency of adultery between young wives and older married men, and the common male complaint that their wives are too ardent, all point to some male sexual difficulties at least in the early stages of marriage. The women, who have their private erotic relationship with *aryá*, the moon, regard this luminary as an inspector of connubial coitus. He comes to observe, the women say, how much sexual power their husbands have. The moon, however, is only an observer, for male potency is the province of the ancestors and is not affected by any other magic. Women have love magic which they use often, but only to draw the attention of a man. It is interesting that while women ply men with love magic a man uses such magic only once, when he is seeking a bride. Once he is married he may prefer to apply an antiaphrodisiac to his wife. The suggestion then is of masculine potency disturbances. We may attribute these disturbances to the rules of community exogamy and their accompanying outlets in homosexual play, in masturbation, and in near incest. Since homosexual play and masturbation involve neither shame nor apparent guilt, their psychological effects are probably not lasting. Near incest, on the other hand, is censored and is kept secret, insofar as that is possible in a small community, and may, therefore, be a serious source of guilt and of more serious sexual maladjustment. Adultery does not seem to offer a convenient sexual outlet for the younger unmarried men, first because the young wives prefer an affair with an older married man, and second because very few young men would dare to risk the public disapproval of such an act. An older man will face his outraged sIBMates, not to mention the outraged husband, with some *savoir-faire*. If necessary he will leave the sib and start an independent community elsewhere. But no young man will willingly break the bonds of male sib solidarity. He must fall back, therefore, upon the more troublesome sexual outlets.

Presumably what are problems of sexual adjustment for the boys are problems for the girls as well, but perhaps of lesser significance. Many girls have enjoyed satisfying sexual relationships with whites in the region, and even in near incest affairs the psychological problem for the girl would seem to be reduced because the male who is the guardian of sib morality and not the girl.

POSITION OF THE AGED

Among the Tucano, Father Giaccone observed (1919, p. 75), the aged were miserably neglected. This in a sense is true of the Cubeo

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